

American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.
—James Monroe

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Propaganda Effects In U. S. Examined

Many Agencies Are Used to Prejudice Public Opinion in Favor of Special Causes

PRECAUTIONS ARE ESSENTIAL

Immunity to Influence Comes by Careful Examination of All Sides of Disputed Problems

To what extent are we influenced by propaganda? Is it practiced so generally that it keeps us from learning the truth about the big issues of the day? Is propaganda really a dangerous enemy of democracy? These are questions which many people are asking. They are questions which should be carefully studied and discussed in schools throughout the nation, for education, if it is to be at all effective, must teach young people how to guard themselves against the constant efforts of special interests to spread their propaganda and to influence the public mind.

What Is Propaganda?

It is hard for anyone to tell when he is being influenced by propaganda, and it is almost as hard for one to define exactly what he means by the term. Without undertaking a scientific definition, however, we may say that any secret, hidden, or underhanded effort to influence a person's feelings, prejudices, or opinions is propaganda. If someone stands up and argues with you that you ought to believe a certain way, or if he gives you the facts about a problem as he sees them, that is not propaganda. But if by some subtle means he places certain facts before you or deceives you as to what the facts are, or if in some other way he gets you to take a position or form an opinion without your knowing that he is doing it or without your knowing what his motives are, he is engaging in propaganda.

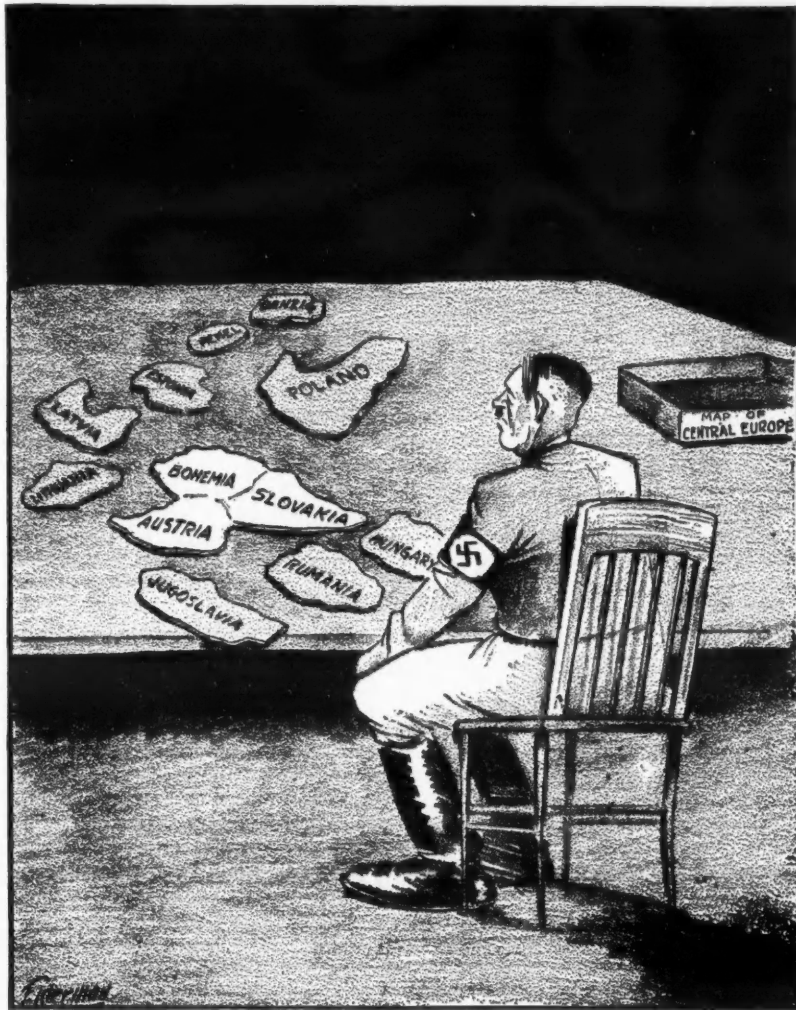
Of course it is quite serious if such practices are carried on extensively. It means that people who are serving selfish interests are getting us to support them without our understanding what the real issues are. It means that we are being used by other people for their own ends, and that we are being kept from forming intelligent and independent judgments in the light of fact and truth.

But we can understand the whole problem better if we get down to definite cases. Suppose, then, that we consider a number of illustrations of propaganda and methods of carrying it on. Then we shall be in a better position to see just what the term means, how great the danger is, and what measures may be taken to combat propaganda. Here are some examples:

1. Individuals and organizations in the United States which sympathized with the loyalist government of Spain during the civil war sent out reports telling of cruelties perpetrated by the Franco forces but told nothing of atrocities on the other side. They distributed pictures showing children made homeless by Franco attacks, women wounded or killed, and so on. Those who read these reports and saw these pictures would be expected to hate the Franco forces and to sympathize with the loyalist side.

On the other hand, groups friendly to the Franco cause sent reports to the newspapers referring to the loyalists as "Reds."

(Concluded on page 8)



JIGSAW

ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

Europe Tense After Latest Hitler Coup

Destruction of Czecho-Slovakia Marks Important Change in Nazi Foreign Policy

MEMEL LIKELY TO BE NEXT

Poland and Rumania Also Fear Nazi Attack as London and Paris Confer on Defense

The suddenness with which Adolf Hitler sent his troops into Czecho-Slovakia and overnight wiped that war-born republic from the map of Europe has left the entire world stunned and perplexed. Another crisis stage has been reached, comparable to that which preceded the conference at Munich last September. Once again, as in those dark September days, troops are on the move, caissons are rumbling through the streets of otherwise peaceful cities, cabinets are holding all-night sessions, and civilians are glancing nervously at the sky when aircraft roar overhead. Rumors are heard and contradicted. Preparations are made for any eventuality as the feeling of impending disaster permeates the atmosphere of all nations.

New German Policy

Having destroyed what was left of Czecho-Slovakia after the Munich agreement, Hitler has now embarked upon a course of action the ultimate consequences of which no man can foresee. That he will be satisfied with the incorporation into the greater Reich of the provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, few people believe. The seizure of the three largest provinces of Czecho-Slovakia is interpreted as the beginning of the Nazi drive to the east, as an important step in the Nazi program of dominating the whole of central and southeastern Europe. No one knew where he would strike; whether it would be at Memel, at Danzig, or in the direction of Hungary or Rumania. But there was little doubt anywhere that sooner or later, probably in weeks, or even days, he would strike again.

Hitler's latest coup was the more surprising because it had been generally assumed that he would not seek to annex neighboring states having a non-Germanic population but that he would be content to exert a considerable degree of political and economic control over them. Since he came into power in 1933, Hitler has stressed the point that it was his ambition to reunite in the Fatherland all German people. He has said that he did not want inferior foreigners within the confines of the Reich.

With the annexation of the three provinces of Czecho-Slovakia, however, a new policy has been adopted. He has brought within Greater Germany 10 million people of non-Germanic blood. The German soldiers who marched into Czecho-Slovakia were not greeted as the deliverers of an oppressed people living under the yoke of a foreign power. This was an act of outright conquest. The millions of Czechs and Slovaks who have been placed within the Reich will undoubtedly be treated as a subject people, as an inferior race, to be used for the benefit of the conquering power.

As a result of this latest blow, the position of Germany has been strengthened, both economically and politically. In the matter of material gain—in lands and peoples—Germany today is greater than ever

(Continued on page 3)

National Student Poll

This week we are conducting another of the national student polls of student opinion in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER and the Weekly News Review. In the case of the two previous polls more than 100,000 students have participated. We hope that an increasing number of schools will use our questions as a basis for testing opinion and will send us the results. We repeat the suggestion made last month that, in order to save time from the recitation period, students mark their ballots after leaving the classroom and bring them to class the following day. A committee of students may be appointed then to take up the ballots and tabulate them, either during or after school hours, and send them to us. It will be impossible for us to accept individual student ballots. One set of results should be sent to us from each school or class. Here are the questions, each of which should be answered by one of the italicized words in the sentence:

1. If Thomas Dewey were running for president on the Republican ticket today against a New Deal Democrat, such as Harry Hopkins, and if you were a voter, for which would you vote?

2. If Dewey were running against a conservative Democrat such, for example, as Vice-President Garner, for whom would you vote?

3. Do you think that it would help or hurt the nation's business for the government to cut its expenses?

4. On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of the Dies Committee?

5. If Germany and Russia should go to war, with which side would you sympathize?

6. Should the American people refuse whenever possible to buy goods made in the dictator nations? (Reply "Yes" or "No" to this question and to those which follow.)

7. Do you personally refuse to buy such goods?

8. Should our neutrality law be amended so as to be more favorable to Great Britain and France; that is, should it permit Americans to sell armaments to a nation at war on the cash-and-carry basis?

9. If Germany and Italy should be at war with Great Britain and France, and if it should appear that help from America were needed to turn the tide in favor of Britain and France, should America enter the war on their side?

Facts About Magazines

XIII. The American Mercury

FOR years, the general character and temper of *The American Mercury* was determined by the personality and philosophy of its editor, H. L. Mencken. Established in 1924, the magazine filled a peculiar position among American periodicals. It was a vigorous magazine, devoted largely to "debunking" many of the pet fetishes of the American people. It cared little upon whose toes it trod, and few of the beliefs and traditions regarded as sacred by large numbers of people were respected in its pages. Its purpose was outlined by Mr. Mencken in the initial issue when he declared that it would "track down some of the worst nonsense prevailing and do execution upon it," that it would "devote itself chiefly to American ideas, American problems, and American personalities," and that it would "attempt a realistic presentation of the whole gaudy, gorgeous American scene."

Because it loved to shock and because it was written in such a vigorous style, *The American Mercury* became the darling of thousands of sophisticates or pseudo-sophisticates and was read avidly by the so-called intelligentsia of the day. Born during the cynicism of the postwar era, it struck a particularly responsive chord among those who either were sincerely critical of existing standards or assumed the pose of holding in scant regard many of those characteristics which were peculiarly American. In a sense, it was a protest against the materialism of the twenties, but it was hardly interested in political reform. It was cynical, sarcastic, and its articles frequently infuriated people among all classes of the population.

When Mencken relinquished control of

it was because the temper of the American people was changing. The prosperity bubble had broken and the country was plunged into the worst depression of its history. The problems of the thirties were serious indeed, and could not be laughed off or made fun of. At any rate, the changed national atmosphere was reflected in the pages of *The American Mercury*, and its articles became more concerned with public problems than they had been.

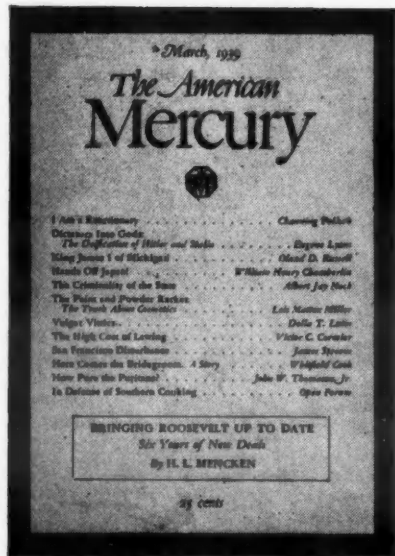
A year ago, Mr. Spivak purchased the *Mercury* and made Eugene Lyons its editor. Mr. Lyons is a well-known newspaperman, author, and lecturer. He spent six years, from 1928 to 1934, in Russia, and had covered other world capitals. At the time of the purchase, Mr. Spivak outlined the editorial policy of the magazine as follows:

The American Mercury will remain independent, nonconformist, and vigorous. It will aim to reach an ever larger number of what the first issue of the magazine 15 years ago described as the "normal, educated, well-disposed, unfrenzied, enlightened citizen of the middle minority."

Both Mr. Lyons and I are opposed to all brands of totalitarianism—home-brewed or imported, Right or Left, and whatever the color of its label.

The magazine will hold fast to the spirit in which it was founded—a spirit of courageous truth-telling. The deflation of stuffed shirts, the exposure of lofty shams, and the harassment of the messianic maniacs remain its chief avocations. It will always be on the side of the relatively sane and normal American in his grim battle against being stuffed with factory-made ideas, terrorized with bugaboos, and straightjacketed in body and mind.

Today *The American Mercury* is smaller in size than the original magazine, its format resembling that of *Reader's Digest*, pocket sized. Its articles touch upon a variety of subjects, the majority of them dealing with contemporary problems, but some of them covering purely literary or cultural subjects. A glance at a late issue, for example, gives one an idea of the range. The lead article is by Mr. Mencken and deals, in critical terms, with the New Deal after six years. There is an article by Mr. Lyons on the deification of Hitler and Stalin, one on Japan by William Henry Chamberlin, another on cosmetics which it calls a "racket." There is an interesting piece on the San Francisco earthquake, one by Channing Pollock called "I Am a Reactionary," and several others, including a short story. There regularly appear a book-review and other departments.



(Reproduced by courtesy of "The American Mercury.")

the magazine after 10 years as its editor, the general tone and temper changed perceptibly. It became more directly concerned with the public problems of the day, both domestic and international. The new editor, Lawrence E. Spivak, had been connected with the *Mercury* from the Mencken era and attempted to carry out the old tradition, but the early punch had clearly vanished from its pages. Perhaps

The American Observer

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With the Magazines

"Fire!" *Fortune*, March 1939, pp. 61-65, 152-160.

Beginning with the startling facts that 400,000 lives since 1900 have been consumed by fire and \$13,000,000 worth of United States wealth destroyed during the period, this article makes the dangers of fire a concrete reality to anyone who reads it. The worst part of the story of fire in America, write the authors of this study, is that lives and property do not have to be lost in fires—fires are preventable.

"Hands Off Japan," by William Henry Chamberlin. *American Mercury*, March 1939, pp. 304-313.

This writer belongs to a strong isolationist group in the United States who believe that we should stay away from any struggle outside our own boundaries. Mr. Chamberlin claims that other countries, especially Great Britain and Russia, are now trying to draw us into a war in China to protect their interests there. Such a war, he says, would not promote our interests and can be avoided only by keeping hands off Japan.

"Norwegian Democracy at Work," by Agnes Rothery. *Travel*, March 1939, pp. 2-12.

In a world increasingly totalitarian, this writer points to Norway as an example of a country that governs by reason and keeps her democratic convictions. The foundation



MOMENTS IN THE LIFE OF PRESIDENT WILSON

On the left the war President is photographed with Mrs. Wilson in the study of the White House, in June 1920. On the right he is seen leaving the Palace of Versailles after signing the peace treaty, June 28, 1919. Accompanying him are Lloyd George and Clemenceau.



H. & E. AND INT'L. NEWS

Mrs. Woodrow Wilson Tells Story of Critical Period in "My Memoir"

ONE of the most widely discussed books of the current season is Edith Bolling Wilson's "My Memoir" (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.50). This is a book of historical importance as well as personal interest, for it deals with one of the most critical periods in American history. By far the greater part of the book takes up the months during which the United States was embroiled in the World War and the later trying period when Woodrow Wilson undertook to remake the world along more idealistic lines.

Mrs. Wilson logically begins her autobiography by giving the background of her family in the post-Civil War South, telling of her girlhood in a small Virginia town, of her frequent visits to Richmond and Washington, and of her life in Washington as the wife of Norman Galt, the jeweler. Following the death of her first husband, she was left, inexperienced, with a considerable jewelry business on her hands. All this she describes simply, even somewhat naively.

Before she met Woodrow Wilson, the then Mrs. Galt showed practically no interest in American politics. At the time of Wilson's election in 1912, she was in Paris with her sister. "So little was my interest in political affairs that I could hardly have told who the candidates were.

I was in Paris on election day, and when the local papers announced the victory of Wilson and Marshall I was glad because the Democrats had won, but beyond the fact that they were Democrats, Messrs. Wilson and Marshall were little more than names to me."

Mrs. Wilson tells in considerable detail of her first meeting with the President. She had been riding in Rock Creek Park with President Wilson's cousin, who took her to the White House for tea, assuring her that they would be alone. Quite by accident, she ran into the President that day and an immediate friendship began. From this point on, the reader is given an intimate picture not only of Woodrow Wilson the man but also of the epoch-making events in which he played such a dominant part.

The historical significance of Mrs. Wilson's book lies in the fact that it brings to light many happenings which heretofore have remained a mystery. One learns, for example, of the rupture between Wilson and Colonel House. The colonel, who was so close to Wilson for so many years, fares badly at Mrs. Wilson's hands. She implies that he was disloyal; that he not only gave away practically all the President had won at the peace conference, while Wilson was in the United States, but he actually sought to discredit Wilson and bring credit to himself.

One of the most interesting sections of the book deals with the fight for the League of Nations which Woodrow Wilson waged following the signing of the Versailles Treaty. It was a tragic fight and one which was the direct cause of the President's collapse at Wichita, Kansas. So critical was his condition that many urged that he resign his office, and turn over the presidency to Vice-President Marshall. Mrs. Wilson says that she argued in favor of such a course, but that the doctors advised against it. They urged her to shelter the President as much as possible, and she acted as a go-between in order to lighten the burden. Here is what she writes about that period:

So began my stewardship. I studied every paper sent from the different secretaries or senators, and tried to digest and present in tabloid form the things that, despite my vigilance, had to go to the President. I, myself, never made a single decision regarding the disposition of public affairs. The only decision that was mine was what was important and what was not, and the very important decision of when to present matters to my husband.

In the pages of this book, many of the world-famous personalities of the time, some of them now dead and others still alive, are discussed. She passes judgment on a good many of them with extreme candor. One gets an excellent picture of the temper both of the officials in Washington during the war period and of the various European countries at the time of the drafting of the peace treaty.



upside down and got away with it. Robert Hutchins, as this study of his vigorous personality reveals him, is the outstanding educator of the country who has defied tradition and sought to reform the college system.

"The Wall Street Dream Market," by Fred Schwed, Jr. *Forum*, March 1939, pp. 152-158.

The hocus-pocus of brokers, businessmen, bankers, stock tickers, and Wall Street in general is attacked by this writer. He believes that the average Wall Street man on the "inside" knows no more about the trend and caprices of the market than the man on the "outside." Reform, he says, is coming slowly through the Securities and Exchange Commission, but many people still rely on the high-sounding but empty advice of the Wall Street crystal gazers.

Europe Is Tense After Nazi Coup

(Continued from page 1)

before in history. Her total area is now 258,863 square miles, as compared with 208,780 before the World War, and a mere 181,500 at the close of the war. Her total population has increased to more than 88,000,000, compared with 67,812,000 in 1914, and 60,000,000 at the close of the World War.

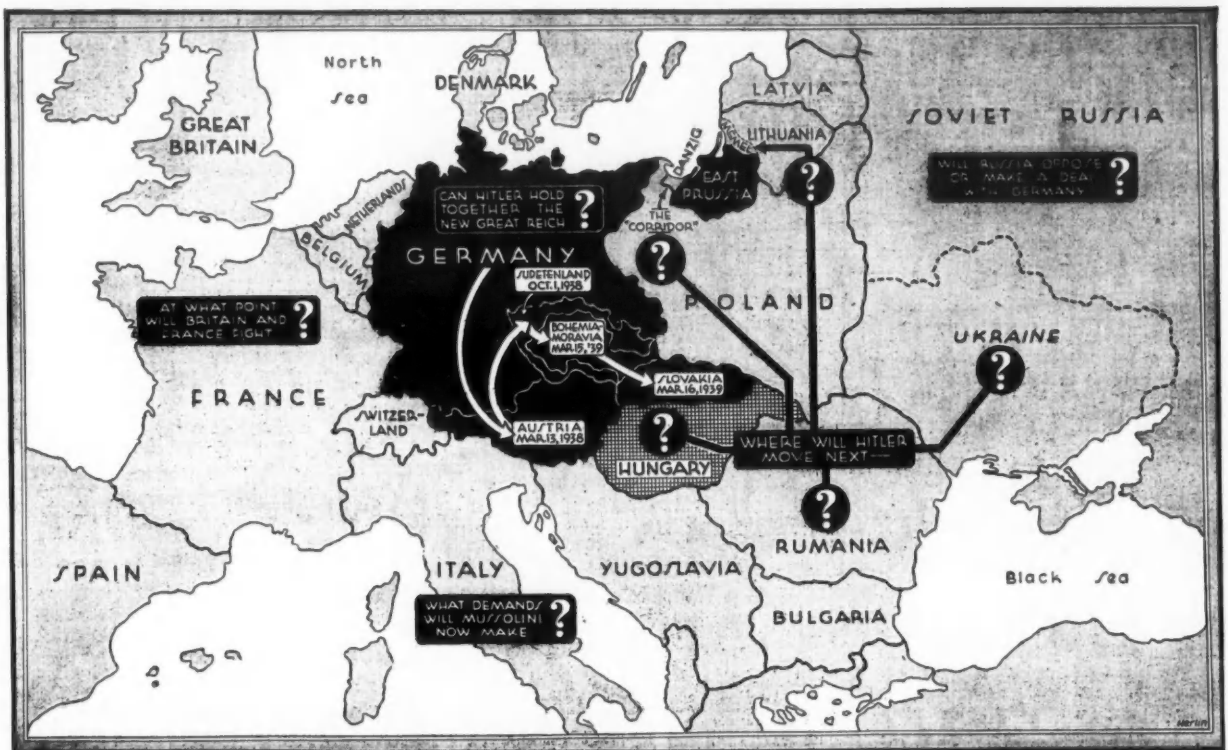
Germany's Gains

To her own industries, Germany has added those of Bohemia and Slovakia; the great Skoda steel and munitions works which have steadily turned out more munitions every year than all the factories in Italy combined; and hundreds of plants for the manufacture of chemicals, textiles, clothing, shoes, and glass, as well as leather, coal, fur, stone, and lumber industries. From the plains of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, Germany may now harvest the foodstuffs her economic system so badly needs. The shortage of foodstuffs, which has been a matter of such grave concern to the Nazi regime, will be greatly alleviated by the addition of the fertile soils of the conquered provinces and their two million industrious farmers.

From the economic standpoint, therefore, Germany's gains are considerable, for they will do a great deal to relieve the tension of recent months. She has seized the gold and many other financial resources of the republic, thus adding to her own depleted reserves. She will thus be in a better position to purchase the raw materials which her industries need and which she has been unable to import from abroad.

Nor are Germany's gains, from the military standpoint, less impressive. Not only has she destroyed the Czech defenses which stood as a bulwark against a push to the east, but she has added greatly to her own war machine. She has acquired some of the most efficient military equipment in Europe: rifles, machine guns, airplanes, tanks, railway guns. All this can now be used to make Germany's war machine more efficient and deadly and to place her in a more invulnerable position with respect to the other powers of Europe.

Perhaps more important still is the im-



SOME QUESTIONS BEFORE EUROPE, AS GERMANY MARCHES EASTWARD

NEW YORK TIMES

proved strategical position of Germany. The conquest of Czecho-Slovakia has enabled Hitler to drive a wedge into the heart of central Europe, to bring him closer to the coveted granary of the Ukraine, the oil and wheat fields of Rumania. He is in a better position to strike out against any of the nations which lie in the path of the famous drive to the east. Thus every neighboring nation of the expanded Germany has become filled with terror lest it be next to fall before the Nazi avalanche.

Hitler's Ambitions

With the inauguration of this new phase of Nazi policy, the imperialistic phase, there is little doubt that it will be continued as rapidly as possible. It is apparent that Hitler will seek to carry out the "land policy" outlined in his book, "Acquisition of colonies will not solve the question of extending the space which our people are to inhabit in Europe," he wrote

in "Mein Kampf." "Nothing, in fact, will solve it but the gain of territory for settlement, which shall extend the area of the mother country itself." He then goes on to say that "When we talk of new lands in Europe, we are bound to think first of Russia and her border states."

When and where Hitler will strike next, no one knows. It may be Poland, where he has territorial ambitions. He has never given up the Polish Corridor which divides East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Already the city of Danzig, in the Corridor, is controlled by the Nazis, and Hitler may now attempt to settle Germany's feud with Poland by wiping out the Corridor and incorporating within the Reich other sections of that country which have a considerable German population.

There is also the possibility that Hitler will use his latest victory to settle his dispute with Lithuania over the small territory of Memel, which forms a part of Lithuania but which, like Danzig, is con-

trolled by Nazis. Memel is not large or of great importance, but it is inhabited mainly by Germans and Hitler will never be satisfied until it is brought within the confines of the Reich.

Another possible move is in the direction of Hungary or Rumania. At the time of the German annexation of the provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, Hungarian troops marched into the fourth province of Czecho-Slovakia, Ruthenia, or Carpatho-Ukraine, and annexed that section. Obviously this action was taken with the consent of Germany; otherwise Hungary would not have dared to move her troops. Why Hitler consented to the annexation of Ruthenia to Hungary now, giving Hungary and Poland a common frontier, when he refused to permit such action last fall, has not been clearly explained. It is thought, however, that the price demanded by Hitler was the complete subjection of the Hungarian government to orders from Berlin.

Before these latest events, Hitler had already secured a considerable degree of control over Hungary. He had forced that country to put into effect an anti-Jewish program, to join the anti-communism pact with Germany, Italy, and Japan, and in other ways to follow the lead of Berlin. It is hardly likely that Hitler would have consented to the formation of a common Hungarian-Polish frontier—which might enable the two nations to stand in the way of the Nazi march eastward—if he had not been certain of Hungary's support. Whatever the reason, he is now in a position to dominate Hungary, for he can always use the same measures on her that he used on Czecho-Slovakia should she fail to toe the mark.

Eyes on Rumania

Then there is Rumania, whose agricultural resources and oil fields are badly needed by the Germans. Since Munich, the Rumanian government has stiffened its opposition to Germany, but it may be unable to resist the tremendous pressure which Berlin is able to exert unless it receives outside assistance. Immediately following the conquest of Czecho-Slovakia, there were reports to the effect that Hitler had issued an ultimatum to Rumania, demanding that Germany be given a virtual monopoly on Rumanian goods and that Rumania become an agricultural state. In effect, such a plan, if carried out, would mean that Rumania existed for the economic benefit of Germany, her entire economic machine being geared to meet the needs of the Reich. In return for this stranglehold over Rumania's economy, so the reports had it, Germany would promise to guarantee the country's present frontiers. Whatever truth there may have been in

(Concluded on page 6, column 3)

How to Make an Effective Attack on Propaganda

YOU can protect yourself from the influence of propaganda only by being eternally on guard and by studying sources of fact and opinion. The job is almost too big for any one individual, but a great deal may be done if a class in history, civics, economics, or current history will take up propaganda as a subject for group study. Here are some of the activities in which such a class or student club may engage:

1. Take up some problem which is the subject of controversy, such, for example, as the question of whether or not the expenses of the government should be drastically cut at this time. Have a committee of the class appointed to find arguments on both sides of the question. Make use of *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to discover magazine articles on the subject. (If you don't know how to use the *Reader's Guide*, by all means ask your teacher or librarian how to do so.) Report on the newspapers or magazines or organizations which favor greater economy and on those which feel the whole thing to be unwise at present.

2. Study your local newspaper or papers. See whether or not it gives both sides of the economy question or only one. If you depended wholly upon it, would you have all the facts which you need in order to form an independent judgment, or would your views be one-sided?

3. Make a study of the columnists who express opinions in articles which

are carried by large numbers of newspapers. Among these columnists are: Pearson and Allen, "The Merry-go-round," Alsop and Kintner, Jay Franklin, Heywood Broun, Mark Sullivan, Walter Lippmann, General Johnson, Dorothy Thompson, Westbrook Pegler, Paul Mellon, Frank Kent, David Lawrence, Raymond Clapper, Ernest Lindley. You can find information about these people from magazines listed in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*.

Does your local newspaper carry articles of columnists who, in general, take the opposite side from that supported by the editor? If your newspaper does this, it gives you a variety of opinion. If not, it gives you a more limited service.

4. Have a committee appointed to look for illustrations of propaganda other than those mentioned in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER article. Perhaps there should be several committees, one looking for propaganda in newspapers, another in magazines, a third in radio programs, and still another

in motion pictures and other agencies.

5. Have a committee appointed to study methods by which one may make himself independent of propagandists.

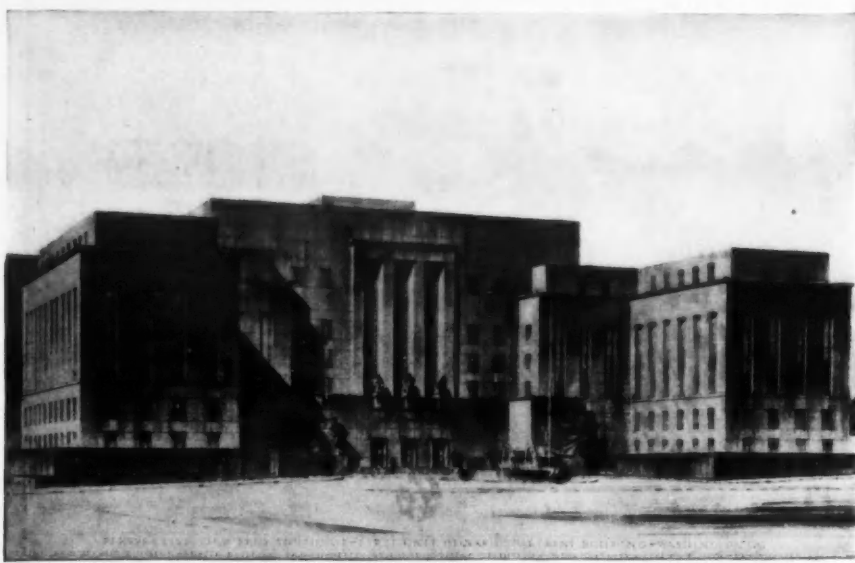
6. Have a committee appointed to look for editorials which contain appeals to emotion or prejudice and find other editorials which present their arguments fairly and which seem to appeal to intelligence rather than emotion.

7. Appoint a committee to make a study of magazines which are in general use, magazines such as *Harpers*, *Time*, *New Republic*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, *Nation*, *Atlantic*, *Current History*, *Events*, *Nation's Business*, *Survey*. In the case of each magazine, determine whether it gives different sides of disputed questions or merely one side, whether its chief work is one of analyzing problems fairly or of advancing some point of view.

8. Most important of all—the class may secure the services of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, an organization whose purpose it is "to help the intelligent citizen detect and analyze propaganda." The instructor of the class may obtain "The Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis" and the class will receive monthly bulletins calling attention to current newspapers of propaganda and analyzing them. These bulletins are now being used in 400 schools which are cooperating with the Institute in the study of propaganda. Those wishing to avail themselves of the services of this organization should write to: Institute for Propaganda Analysis, 130 Morningside Drive, New York City. The Institute has made a distinct contribution to a study of propaganda in this country.



DO YOU KNOW WHAT TO READ?



PROPOSED UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT BUILDING
Among the early additions to the federal government's huge building program in the national capital will be a structure to house the War Department.

DOMESTIC

Eyes on Europe

Once again the troubles of Europe have drawn the attention of the American people across the Atlantic, away from problems at home. Most people in the United States showed great indignation at Germany's sudden march into Czecho-Slovakia. Sumner Welles, acting secretary of state, seemed to express the national opinion when he condemned Germany's actions as those of "wanton lawlessness and of arbitrary force." He spoke with the full support of President Roosevelt, it is said.

The United States government did not content itself with words, however. Shortly



WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, who was recently appointed to the Supreme Court.

after Hitler's troops marched into Czecho-Slovakia, it was announced that all tariffs on German goods would be raised 25 per cent beginning April 22. This means that Germany will be practically unable to sell her products here, since such a tariff will make it almost impossible for her to compete with other countries and with American producers. The loss of the American market (usually Germany sells from 60 to 100 million dollars worth of merchandise in this country annually) will certainly be felt by the Reich. Evidently this increase in tariff is one of the measures which President Roosevelt had in mind when he mentioned steps "short of war" which this nation might take to combat the dictatorships.

Congress will probably show the effect of the events in Europe, too. Last week on this page we discussed the Neutrality Act and the sentiment in favor of amending it. That sentiment seems to be growing stronger as a result of Germany's actions. Senator Pittman, chairman of the Senate's committee on for-

eign affairs, has proposed an amendment to the Act which would make it possible for the United States to sell arms and ammunition to nations at war on a "cash-and-carry" basis. Since England and France would undoubtedly control the seas in case of a war, such an amendment would be a help to them and a blow to Germany.

The Ninth Justice

William O. Douglas was appointed to the Supreme Court by President Roosevelt last week, to fill the vacancy left when Justice Louis D. Brandeis resigned several weeks ago. Thus the Supreme Court once more has its full quota of nine members, and its fourth Roosevelt-appointed justice. The other men selected by President Roosevelt are Justices Black, Reed, and Frankfurter.

It is thought that the appointment of Mr. Douglas will be approved by the Senate with little debate. While the new justice is considered to be a thorough New Dealer, he is respected by "big business" critics of the Roosevelt administration. As chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission (the position which he holds at present), Mr. Douglas has won widespread admiration for his handling of government-and-business relations.

The newest justice will also be the youngest—he is only 40 years old—and one of the youngest ever to sit on the Supreme Court. Mr. Douglas is an authority on laws dealing with corporations. Before coming to Washington in 1934, he was a professor in the law school at Yale University. He is a westerner, since he was born in Minnesota and educated in the state of Washington, but he has lived in the East for some time.

Relief Again

The problem of relief has been before the Seventy-Sixth Congress almost continuously since it convened three months ago. At that time, President Roosevelt asked the legislators to provide \$875,000,000 to carry the WPA through the months of February, March, April, May, and June. A majority in both the House and the Senate thought that the President was asking for too much; they slashed the relief appropriation to \$725,000,000.

Thus far, in two months, the WPA has spent about half of the \$725,000,000 which Congress gave it. A few days ago, the President sent a special message to Congress asking that it provide the \$150,000,000 which was cut from his original request. Unless the legislators do so, he said, about 1,200,000 persons will have to be dropped from the relief rolls during the next three months. At present, there are about three million men and women on WPA. Only a few were dropped during February and March; in fact, the WPA could not have dropped many if it had wanted to. Congress stipulated that the number of persons on relief should not be reduced by more than five per cent—that was Congress' answer to the charge that needy families would suffer unless the full \$875,000,000 were appropriated.

Some members of Congress are opposed to giving the WPA any more money. They

The Week at Home

What the People of the World Are

believe that many of those on relief could find jobs in private industry. The President says that not more than 300,000 men and women now on relief could find employment during the next three months—certainly not the 1,200,000 which he says will have to be dropped unless more money is forthcoming.

It is likely that Congress will eventually do as the President wishes. First, however, his critics will take advantage of the opportunity to speak out in favor of economy and against the relief policies of the Roosevelt administration in general.

High Flying

Transport planes rarely go up more than 12,000 feet, for beyond that height the air becomes so light that passengers are uncomfortable, and may become ill. However, the air lines would like to send their planes much higher, into the "stratosphere" which begins four or five miles above the earth. At that height there are no strong, bumpy air currents to make flying rough, and planes can make much better time.

A few days ago a Northwest Air Lines plane took off from Minneapolis, Minnesota, with 10 passengers, and went up to 20,000 feet. Each passenger attached a small mask (which looked like a football player's nose-guard) to his face. This mask was connected by a rubber tube to a tank containing a mixture of oxygen and helium, so that the passengers breathed this mixture. The plane cruised along at about 250 miles an hour, and in less than five hours the pilot brought it down in Boston. The passengers reported that they were comfortable during the entire trip, and that they had eaten a chicken dinner while wearing the masks.

The masks were invented by three doctors at the famous Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota. They may make it possible for air lines to use the stratosphere regularly, thus speeding up long flights. The masks are useful for other purposes, too, since they relieve persons suffering from such diseases as pneumonia and asthma.

Pensions for Congressmen?

Being a member of Congress is quite an honor, but many men have found that it is not especially profitable. A congressman has many expenses which eat into his \$10,000-a-year salary. In the first place, living costs are higher in Washington than in any other city in the nation. And in the second place, he must contribute to his political party, entertain visitors from his district, and help to finance his campaign for reelection.

Furthermore, the man who spends several years in Washington frequently finds it difficult to pick up where he left off at home. A lawyer, for instance (and more than two-thirds of the congressmen are lawyers), loses contacts while he is away. Some members, of course, are financially independent; they do not need to worry about the future. But most congressmen are not so fortunate.



SPRING IS IN THE AIR
SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

For that reason, it has been suggested that a pension plan should be set up for congressmen who serve 20 years or more. No bill has been written yet, but two proposals are being discussed. One would have the government pay the pensions, while the other would set up a system under which each member of Congress would contribute a small share of his salary to a pension fund. If such a plan were in operation now, 13 senators and 30 representatives would be eligible for retirement, since that number have served more than 20 years.

State Trade Barriers

According to the Constitution, Congress has power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states and with the Indian tribes." Another section provides that "no state shall lay any impost



"WE LEFT THE MOUNTAINS AND THE RIVER"
(From "The River," by Pare Lorentz, public domain)

or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws. . . ."

These clauses were put into the Constitution because its authors wanted to make sure that trade would flow freely among the states. Within the last few years, however, various states have been erecting trade barriers against each other. They do not pass tariff laws as such. But they pass inspection laws which have the same effect as tariffs—that is, they favor home products and home producers over those of other states. California has a special tax on beers made outside California. Wisconsin has a tax on oleomargarine, which competes with Wisconsin's great butter industry. Kansas has a tax on gasoline shipped into the state. These are but a few of the many examples which could be quoted.

Some of these regulations are justifiable, of course. They are necessary for the protection of health, highway safety, and so on. But a growing number of them are nothing but thinly disguised tariffs. Recently the Department of Agriculture made a study of the situation, and found it so serious that Secretary Wallace wrote: "Today we cannot say that we have free trade between the states."

"The River"

More than a year ago the federal government's Farm Security Administration produced a moving picture called "The River," a three-reel film telling the story of flood control and soil erosion in the Mississippi River valley. It was such an excellent picture that private theatres have been renting it and showing it as part of their regular attractions ever since. Now, however, it is available to schools. The United States Film Service in Washington will lend it without charge, except for transportation costs. It is furnished in both 16-millimeter and 35-millimeter sizes.

Home and Abroad

What We Are Doing, Saying, and Thinking

The Film Service has a large number of government pictures, dealing with many subjects, which are loaned without a rental charge. A catalogue listing the different films may be obtained by writing to the United States Film Service, Washington, D. C.

The Average Taxpayer

A recent pamphlet published by the Public Affairs Committee, entitled "Our Taxes—And What They Buy," contains some interesting information on how much American families with various incomes pay in taxes each year. For example, Mr. Smith, who supports himself, his wife, and his two children on \$1,000 a year, pays very few taxes directly. He pays no income tax to the federal government. But during the year his indirect taxes amount to \$180—his rent, his food, his clothing, his gasoline, his amusements, and so on, cost

the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905, and who have kept it under the Soviet regime by a series of one-year extensions.

But for a number of years trouble has been brewing in these desolate seas. The Kamchatka fishing grounds have become more and more vital to Japan until they have reached the point of being almost life itself. For Japan, being a land very small in area, is forced to rely upon fish, as she is upon rice, as an essential part of her diet. Japanese fishermen have fished Japanese waters for so long, and with such intensity, that many of the finest stocks have become all but exhausted. Lack of proper conservation methods has made matters even worse. Today, therefore, Japan has come to rely upon the Siberian fisheries. She has not been satisfied with the year-by-year extensions of the Soviet fishing concessions to Japanese fishermen, and has demanded more than once a permanent treaty as a right.

The Soviets, on the other hand, have used their control of these waters as a lever to pry concessions from the Japanese. Angered first by Japanese refusal to meet payments on the formerly Russian-owned Chinese Eastern Railroad, and later by a consistent anticommunist and anti-Russian policy in Japan, the Russians have become progressively more disinclined to continue to grant the Japanese fishing rights. Recently, what has long been expected and feared has come to pass. The Russians have auctioned off to other interests, a large number of Japanese fishing "lots" off Kamchatka.

The situation is now made serious by a Japanese threat to send their fleet up to the Kamchatka fishing grounds, with or without the consent of the Soviet government, to protect the 20,000 Japanese fishermen. Such would be regarded by the Soviets as an invasion of territorial waters, and would probably be resisted. In the meantime, more Japanese troops are pouring northward into the fortified areas along the Siberian borders. A Russo-Japanese war may result or the trouble may blow over as it has in the past, and a compromise solution be attained.

Wedding in Cairo

Somewhat obscured by the recent spectacular events in Europe, a wedding has just taken place in Cairo, Egypt, which in calmer times would have been reported at great length in the daily press everywhere. The bride was the 17-year-old Egyptian princess Fawzia, the sister of the young King Farouk. The groom came from distant Iran—the eldest son of the Persian Shah and heir to the throne—Crown Prince Mohammed Riza Pahlevi. Although the ceremony differed somewhat from that of occidental royalty in that it was Islamic, it presented a brilliant display of Moslem pagantry, accompanied by official dinners, receptions, and noisy celebrations in the streets near the Royal Palace.

More important than the wedding itself, however, are the developments it may possibly foreshadow for Moslem unity. The Moslems have been trying for 20 years or more



HAMILTON WRIGHT PHOTO

AN ANCIENT MOSQUE IN CAIRO, EGYPT
Egypt and Iran, two Moslem states, are drawing closer together. This may be the prelude to a Moslem federation in the Near East.

to find some common ground upon which to build a great Islamic federation, embracing all Moslem peoples from the Atlantic coast of Africa eastward to China and Java. But the Moslems, like the Christians, are divided sharply into nations and into religious sects. They have been no more able to agree among themselves than have the peoples of western Europe and America.

The marriage of Princess Fawzia and Crown Prince Mohammed Riza Pahlevi creates a bond between two important Moslem states—Egypt and Iran. But more important still, it forms a tie between the two outstanding Moslem sects, the Sunnites, who are scattered from Iran eastward across Asia as far as Java, and the Shiites, who occupy the regions stretching from Egypt westward across Africa to the Morocco. Although it is true that women play an insignificant part in the Moslem world, many observers of Moslem affairs are wondering whether through this marriage an attempt may not be contemplated looking to the establishment of a Moslem federation founded on an alliance between Iran (Persia) and Egypt.

Hudson's Bay Company

To many people who associate the Hudson's Bay Company (more generally known as Hudson Bay Company) with the days of the blockhouse, the coonskin cap, and the long rifle, it will come as somewhat of a surprise to know that that institution not only still enjoys a corporate existence, but is prospering.

Originally incorporated in England in 1670, its full title is "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading Into Hudson Bay." Up until the era of the American Revolution the trading posts in this country dotted the Great Lakes regions and the rivers of our midwest, where they engaged in trading rifles, bullets, hardware, and miscellaneous goods, for the furs brought in from time to time by trappers and hunters. The Hudson's Bay Company still engages in this business, from the Arctic regions nearly to the equator. In sections of northern Canada, where the company owns nearly 2,000,000 acres of land, its posts and steamships (as in this country in colonial days) still constitute the centers of economic life. Company agents buy the trappers' goods, sell them what they need, and carry their mail to and from distant points.

Under the charter issued in 1670 by King Charles II, the company agreed to pay a tribute whenever the British king, or his heirs, visited the company's territory. Since there has been only one such royal visit in the company's long life, the tribute has been paid only once. But it will be paid again this spring, for a second time, when the Hudson's Bay Company presents tribute to the king and queen of England—two mounted elk-heads and two rare, black beaver pelts.

Congress in Uruguay

No city in South America has played host to so many important conferences within the last few months as has Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay. Centrally located between Brazil and Argentina, easy to reach by boat, a striking city with broad avenues lined with

palms, and possessed of a comfortably temperate climate—Montevideo has proved itself to be an ideal convention city. Of even greater import, perhaps, is the fact that by South American standards, the government and the political atmosphere of Uruguay are fairly liberal—a factor that cannot be overlooked by groups seeking a convention city.

When delegates to the International Congress of American Democracies began to register at the leading hotels of Montevideo last week, the government of Uruguay found itself in a difficult position. The delegates had come to decide upon a plan for resisting fascist penetration in Latin America. Many of them represented opposition parties in Latin American dictatorships. In consequence, strong pressure was brought to bear against the Uruguayan government to prevent the congress from convening. The most persistent of the governments in opposition to the congress was that of Peru. At the time of



SOVPHOTO

KAMCHATKA FISHERMEN
Russia and Japan are again disputing over the rich fishing grounds off the coast of Siberia.

writing there is some doubt as to whether the congress will be permitted to convene in Uruguay, although some think that it will be permitted to meet on condition that no nation and no government is attacked by delegates, and that any remarks the delegates care to make will have to be limited to vague generalities.

Near East

Having failed to reach any agreement that might solve the bitter dispute in Palestine, Arab and Jewish leaders waited last week for the plan which the British government was preparing to impose with or without their consent. Although details of the plan have not yet been announced, it is expected to limit Jewish immigration to 75,000 people over a period of five years, after which it will come to a stop, leaving Palestine under Arab control. Since adoption of such a plan will spell the end of ambitions for a Jewish homeland, it will hardly be satisfactory to Jewish leaders.



SLASHED AND BURNED, AND MOVED ON."
Entz, published in book form by Peter Stackpole and Sons.)

that much more because of the taxes levied on them. Thirty dollars of his money go to the federal government; \$35 to the state, and \$115 to the city and county in which he lives.

Mr. Jones has an income of \$2,000 a year on which to support his family. Like Mr. Smith, he pays no federal income tax. But his total taxes for the year amount to about \$335—\$50 to the federal government, \$56 to the state, and \$227 to the local governments. Mr. Brown, with an income of \$5,000 a year, pays \$21 federal income tax. His total taxes, however, are \$1,061—the federal government gets \$300, the state gets \$201, and the local governments get \$560. Mr. Green, one of the few persons in the country with an income of \$100,000 a year, pays out more than half of it in taxes. The federal government takes \$31,308; the state government, \$12,920; and the local governments, \$7,202. These figures vary, of course, according to the states and cities in which the taxpayers live, but they give us a rough idea of what government costs each American family.

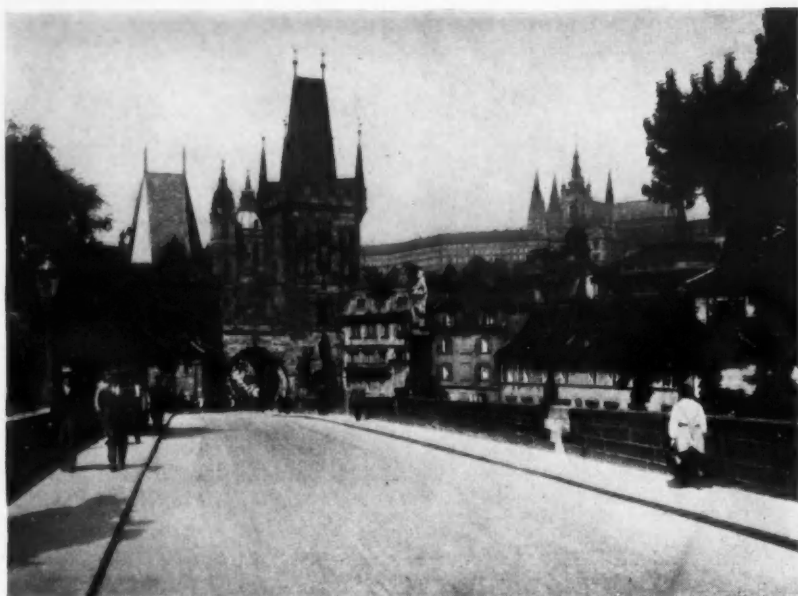
FOREIGN

Siberian Fisheries

Every year in April thousands of fishing boats move into the shallow waters of the Sea of Okhotsk and the North Pacific off the Siberian peninsula of Kamchatka. Each drops its nets in a designated area, for so rich are these fishing grounds that the Soviet government has marked them off like real estate into "lots." Some of these lots are only a few hundred feet square, while others occupy several square miles. These lots, in times past, have not only been fished by Russians, but by Japanese, who obtained the right under



A LOSING STRUGGLE
CARLISLE IN YAKIMA (WASH.) DAILY REPUBLIC



CHARLES BRIDGE IN THE OLD CITY OF PRAGUE

GALLOWAY

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The Long History of the Czech People

THE tragic developments in Czecho-Slovakia during the last two weeks have extinguished that state after only 20 years of existence. Such a sudden end to the political life of a courageous and independent people has shocked almost the entire world. But the student of history knows that although the life of Czecho-Slovakia was short, the life of the Czech people, as a distinct national group, has been very long. And the historian knows that struggle against German domination by the Czechs is almost as old as Czech culture. That the recent invasion of Czecho-Slovakia is not dissociated with the ancient feuds was recently made apparent when the controlled Nazi press of Germany began a savage, relentless anti-Czech campaign in which, over and over again, was used the word "Hussite."



DAVID S. MUZZEY

which, over and over again, was used the word "Hussite."

Czech Nationalism

The roots of this term reach back almost into medieval history, to the year 1373, when there was born in a Bohemian peasant village, one who was to become a great religious reformer, John Huss. In that same century, the feud between Czechs and Germans was shaping itself. For at that time, the ancient Kingdom of Bohemia, which had been forced into the Holy Roman Empire in the eleventh century, had become sufficiently strong to dominate the empire which had absorbed it. The capital of the empire was Prague, the city where John Huss began first to preach against certain doctrines of the Catholic Church and to arouse a Czech nationalism. Thousands of Bohemians, or Czechs, flocked to his banner, and the Germans settled in Bohemia and Moravia were forced to flee the region.

Although John Huss was caught by trickery and burned to death as a heretic, the seeds he had sown reaped a harvest that astounded and dismayed Catholic Europe, particularly Germany. The German princes sent army after army into Bohemia, but at first the Hussites were victorious and rolled them back over the borders, and Bohemia flourished—independent, and secure behind the protective barrier of the Sudeten Mountains.

In 1526, however, the Germans gained control of the region once more and installed a Hapsburg king, Ferdinand I. For nearly 100 years, the Czechs clung to their

Protestantism and patriotism under German rule, and then they revolted against their masters.

It was in 1620, the same year that the Pilgrims were landing in Plymouth, that the Czechs were crushed by German armies in the terrible battle of White Mountain, just outside of Prague. The victorious Germans massacred the Czech nobility almost to a man. In a campaign of terrorism so ruthless that its scars still remain, the Hussites were tracked down and killed, every vestige, almost, of Protestantism was destroyed, cities were leveled, farms destroyed, and Bohemia, as an economic unit, utterly ruined for decades to come. So nearly had Czech culture been wiped out that for many years the Czech language was used only among the Bohemian peasants.

Until World War

From 1620 down to 1918, Bohemia was ruled by the German Hapsburg kings, sometimes indifferently, sometimes harshly, but seldom well. But in the year 1848, when the liberal movement was sweeping Europe from east to west, Bohemia once more stirred in a nationalist movement. Aided in part by the reforms of the Hapsburg emperor, Josef II, a distinct culture began to flower in Bohemia; Czech traditions were recalled with pride, Czech literature flourished. Also important was the development of Czech music which, by its individuality and nationalism, greatly moved the Czech people, finding expression through such composers as Anton Dvorak (well known to Americans), and Bedrich Smetana, who wrote a stirring series of symphonic poems called "My Fatherland."

When the World War broke out, the Czechs, as a subject race of the Austrian Empire, were forced to fight on the side of the central powers. But within a few years the now-famous "Czech Legions" were formed which joined the French and Russian armies in fighting Germany, and with the collapse of the central powers, in 1918, the Czechs found freedom and independence again, for the first time in 300 years.

When the borders of the new Czech state were drawn by the Allies, there was some speculation as to whether they could endure, in view of, first, the German minority of 3,500,000 in Czechoslovakia; second, the vast number of Germans north, west, and south of Czechoslovakia; and third, the addition to Bohemia of Slovaks and Ruthenians. But that Czechoslovakia was to be so short-lived, and that its peoples were to be disarmed and subjugated by Germany within 20 years, no man then would have believed.

All Europe Is Tense Following Nazi Push Into Czecho-Slovakia

(Concluded from page 3)

these reports, it is not without significance that Rumania moved half a million troops to the Hungarian border and made preparations for any eventuality.

Reaction of Powers

On several fronts, steps were taken or contemplated with a view to stopping Hitler's drive. After the British government had time to recover from the shock of the absorption of Czecho-Slovakia, there were indications that it would adopt a more aggressive policy toward Germany than the one it has followed for the last two and a half years. In a speech delivered at Birmingham a few days after the coup, Prime Minister Chamberlain used strong terms to denounce Hitler. He indicated that the policy of appeasement, or coming to terms with the dictators, would be abandoned. The British government recalled its ambassador to Germany in protest against Hitler's flagrant violation of the Munich agreement. It protested vehemently to Berlin and, together with France, Soviet Russia, and the United States, declared that it would not recognize as legal the conquest of Czecho-Slovakia.

Britain undertook to form a united front against Hitler. Attempts were launched to organize a "stop Hitler" movement. The dominions were sounded out on the question of what their position would be in case of war. Diplomatic conversations were held with Soviet Russia with a view to working out a common line of action. The British government also kept in close touch with the United States government,

following closely all developments with Washington bearing on the situation.

In France, immediate steps were taken to strengthen that country's position. Premier Daladier was voted practically dictatorial powers to deal with the crisis. The government was in constant communication with British officials. While no definite plans for the future were worked out between the two governments, there seemed to be agreement that Hitler must be stopped somehow, somewhere, but how or where had not been decided.

The Big Decision

The big decision which Britain, France, and even Russia will have to make is where to draw the line and tell Hitler that he must stop. Before the abandonment of the appeasement policy by Britain, it was generally assumed that neither she nor France would use military action against Hitler unless their vital interests were involved and that central and south-eastern Europe did not constitute their vital interests. However, it now appears that they will undertake to stop Hitler before he proceeds further with his eastward campaign.

Whatever the decision, either of Germany or of the opposing forces in Europe, the situation is tense and fraught with danger. As in September, almost anything can happen. Hitler and his aides may decide to strike while the iron is hot and before France and England are able to organize an effective "stop Hitler" movement. From a dozen different quarters, the fatal spark might easily be set off.

Locate Yourself!

Types of Students and Analysis of Prospects

Type 22

THERE are many intelligent and outstanding students whose interests lie principally in technical or mechanical subjects, rather than in the academic ones. Young men with such inclinations should seek to find a career which will enable them to utilize this native ability. One which recommends itself is electrical work.

There are some 300,000 electrical workers in the country today, more than a fourth of whom are connected with the building industry. About 50,000 are employed as linemen for the electric light and power companies, and thousands of electrical workers have jobs with electric machinery and supply companies, automobile manufacturers, mines, and a number of other industries.

Electrical work calls for a high degree of skill, and as a result the wages paid compare favorably with those paid to other skilled trades. Moreover, the workers are highly unionized, thus tending to maintain a high level of wages. The average hourly rate is about \$1.30 an hour in all branches of electrical work. If employed at full time, therefore, the average electrician would receive an excel-

lent yearly income. Unfortunately, the demand for electrical workers fluctuates with business conditions and few of them are able to work more than three-fourths of the time.

While electrical workers in the construction industry fared rather badly during the depression, those in other industries did unusually well. There was little unemployment among them, and with the revival of building during the last two years, electricians in the building trades have found more jobs.

The prospects for the future seem relatively bright. For one thing, the unions have held down the number of apprentices admitted each year in order to avoid overcrowding. Moreover, about a fifth of all electricians are 45 years of age or older and there are likely to be many retirements in the years ahead.

A young person interested in electrical work as a career has two courses open to him. He may enter through the apprenticeship door. The rules and regulations governing such admission may be obtained from a local chapter of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, or by writing to the national office at 1200 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. The other course is to enter a technical school which gives such training. Such schools are located in most of the large cities of the country.

One who aspires to such a career should possess certain qualities. He should be unusually good in physics and mathematics and should take all the courses offered in high school. He should be of a technical frame of mind. If he finds that he is not good in the subjects bearing upon electrical work, he should by all means prepare for some other work. After completing high school, he may either go on with advanced work in electricity in a technical school or a university or learn the practical side of the work by becoming an apprentice.



PWA PHOTO

THE ELECTRICAL WORKER

Personalities in the News

TO be his personal representative in the conquered Czech territory, Hitler has named a sort of viceroy, Konstantin von Neurath, as "protector" of the Czechs. This is neither very good nor very bad news for the Czechs. Inasmuch as he is a German, von Neurath will not be loved by the Czechs. But since it is in line with Hitler's policy to appoint violent Nazis as governors of newly acquired regions, von Neurath's appointment comes as somewhat of a relief, for he is an old-line German diplomat whose opinions have always been a little more broad and a little more liberal than those of the Nazi radical wing.

Von Neurath's career has been long and distinguished. There is hardly a man in Germany whose background in foreign affairs is as solid and whose experience is as varied. At various times since he was graduated from college and went immediately into the diplomatic service (his start made possible by the aristocratic lineage of his family), von Neurath served as vice consul in London, as counsellor to the embassy in Istanbul during the World War, and as private secretary to the king of Wurttemberg. Since the close of the World War he has occupied the offices successively of ambassador to Rome, ambassador to London, and minister of foreign affairs.

Not enough of a Nazi to satisfy Hitler, von Neurath was removed from the foreign

jection slips for articles and fiction." His literary aspirations were suspended with the outbreak of the World War, in which he fought with the British army, first as an infantry officer, and finally, during the last nine months, in the Intelligence Service. Gedye's command of the German language then won him an office on the staff of the British military governor of Cologne, and finally, his latest official position, on the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission.

It was in 1922 that Gedye began his brilliant career as a foreign correspondent. First he covered the French occupation of the Rhineland with such accuracy that the French government was greatly angered, and Gedye was called home. He left the *Times* in 1925, and became Vienna correspondent of the *Daily Express*, and then the *Daily Telegraph*.

Because of his reporting of the pogroms that followed the Nazi annexation of Austria last year, Gedye was expelled by the Germans, and moved to Prague. Now he must move on again, because far from soothing Nazi feelings since his last expulsion, Gedye has only aroused them to greater fury by publication of his recent book dealing with Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and the Munich Pact, called—"Betrayal in Central Europe."

EVER since James Roosevelt left the White House to become a moving picture executive, the President's secretarial staff has been short-handed. In a few days, however, Colonel Edwin M. Watson will take over the tasks which "Jimmy" handled. Before doing so, however, Colonel Watson will become Brigadier General Watson—and then he will promptly retire from active army service to assume his secretarial duties.

Colonel Watson is a big, jovial man. Since 1932 he has been President Roosevelt's military aide, and the two have become close friends. Colonel Watson rarely leaves "the chief's" side; he travels with him, and appears at all public functions. He is the sort of man the President likes—friendly, hard-working, efficient, with a ready laugh and an excellent sense of humor. All these characteristics will be useful to him in his new office, for it will be his job to work with the heads of the 150 or more independent agencies in the executive branch of the government—to help solve their problems, and decide which of those problems are important enough to merit the President's personal attention.

When Colonel Watson was graduated from West Point in 1908, he was the oldest member of his class, and the nickname "Pa" has stuck to him for more than 30 years. He was voted the most popular in his class, and he is still remembered at the military academy for his prowess as a football tackle. He was junior aide to President Wilson when the latter was in France, and from 1927 to 1931 he was military attaché at the United States embassy in Brussels.



G. E. R. GEDYE



KONSTANTIN VON NEURATH

affairs ministry last year, and replaced by Joachim von Ribbentrop, one of the most radical of the ring of close advisers which surrounds Hitler. During the last year, von Neurath has been in a largely honorary position, the president of the Privy Council. Whether his new position is real or honorary remains yet to be seen. Sympathizers with the Czech cause are hoping that he will have the power to prevent such persecutions as followed the annexation of Austria last year.

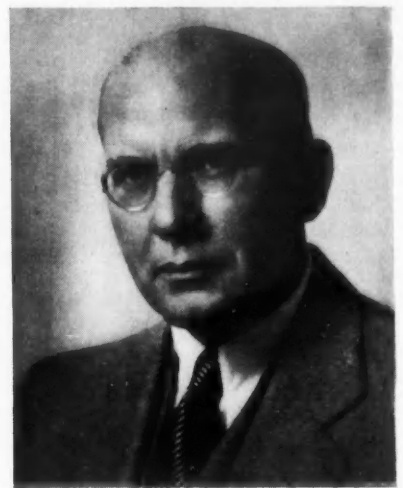
WHEN the German army occupied Prague and closed all the Czech frontiers, four British newspaper correspondents gathered together within the protecting walls of the British legation, while their government attempted to negotiate a "safe-conduct" pass for them in order that they might leave the country without danger.

One of these was George E. R. Gedye, correspondent for both the London *Daily Telegraph*, and the New York *Times*. Of all the correspondents of American newspapers in Europe, there is none with whom the Nazis would rather settle accounts than with Gedye—largely because of his brilliant reporting of the Nazi invasion of Austria a year ago, but also because of his reports from Czecho-Slovakia since.

George E. R. Gedye was born in England in 1890, and received a conventional British education, finishing his studies at the University of London. The prewar years he spent, in his own words, "collecting re-



COL. E. M. WATSON



CLYDE R. MILLER

PROFESSOR CLYDE R. MILLER of Teachers College, Columbia University, is secretary of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis (see page 1), and is in fact the moving spirit of that organization. He is thus the director of an interesting and very important educational effort, the effort to teach the American people, or as many of them as may be reached, how to detect propaganda, how to understand its meaning, how to determine how much or how little truth there may be in any particular propagandistic appeal, and how to render themselves entirely independent of propagandists.

In addition to teaching courses in public opinion and propaganda in Teachers College, Professor Miller had charge of the publicity work for the college. He has a keen sense of news value and managed to keep the activities of the institution very much before the public. He is 51 years old and had an interesting career as

a reporter before going into educational work. He secured the evidence which brought about the conviction of Eugene Debs for disloyal activities during the World War. Later he became convinced that Debs should have had the right to express himself freely, and was influential in securing his pardon by President Warren G. Harding.

Clyde Miller has a reputation for liberalism, but is by no means a radical. He is a lifelong Republican and a Methodist, but maintains a critical attitude toward parties and politicians. One of his outstanding characteristics is a keen sense of humor.

At the present time Mr. Miller is devoting his energies to the work of propaganda analysis. He is determined that the Institute shall not favor any point of view, but that it shall expose and explain propaganda of all kinds and from all sources, regardless of the consequences of such a course.

Something to Think About

Are You Sure of Your Facts?

1. What is the purpose of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis and who is the leading figure in the organization?
2. Name a number of devices which are used to influence people by means of propaganda.
3. What is meant by the word "propaganda"?
4. What were some of the immediate effects of the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia by Germany upon the following countries: (a) Great Britain? (b) France? (c) Rumania? (d) Soviet Russia?
5. What has been the effect of the extension of Germany's boundaries upon the appeasement policy of Prime Minister Chamberlain?
6. Who is the new justice of the United States Supreme Court?
7. What action have certain states taken by way of erecting tariffs against products coming into the states?
8. Who was the first editor of *The American Mercury*?
9. Give the points involved in the Russo-Japanese fisheries dispute.
10. When and where was the Battle of White Mountain fought?
11. True or false: President Roosevelt has renewed his demand for an additional \$150,000,000 for relief purposes.

Can You Defend Your Opinions?

1. Do you think the United States should join a "stop-Hitler" movement? If so, how far should it go in its support of such a drive on the part of European powers?
2. If you were an Englishman or a Frenchman, what policy would you favor with respect to Hitler's drive to the east?
3. In your opinion, is propaganda essential in a democracy? Why?
4. Do you consider the activities of propagandists of various types dangerous to the welfare of the country?

5. Have recent events in Europe made you more or less in favor of a policy of isolation for the United States?

6. Do you think that the American people get their money's worth for the amount they pay in taxes?

REFERENCES ON PROPAGANDA: (a) *Unser Amerika*, by S. K. Padover. *Forum*, January 1939, pp. 3-7. (b) Same, abbreviated in *Reader's Digest*, January 1939, pp. 3-9. (c) *Berlin Sends Radio Greetings*, by D. Lang. *The New Republic*, January 11, 1939, pp. 279-281. (d) *Propaganda Captures the Newspapers*, by F. Pratt. *American Mercury*, August 1938, pp. 450-458. (e) *Does Propaganda Menace Democracy?* by E. L. Bernays and F. Lundberg. *Forum*, June 1938, pp. 341-345. (f) *Motion Pictures*, by G. Seldes. *Scribners*, April 1938, pp. 65-66. (g) *Psychology of Propaganda*, by J. Prevost. *The Atlantic*, May 1938, pp. 674-677. (h) See issues of *Propaganda Analysis*, published monthly beginning October 1937, by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, 132 Morningside Drive, New York City.

REFERENCES ON EUROPE: (a) *Where Now Is Britain?* by G. Hutton. *The Atlantic*, January 1939, pp. 1-12. (b) *War This Spring?* *The New Republic*, March 1, 1939, pp. 87-88. (c) *Death Watch in Czechoslovakia*, by B. T. Reynolds. *Forum*, February 1939, pp. 61-66. (d) *In an Era of Unreason*, by N. Pelfer. *Harpers*, March 1939, pp. 337-343. (e) *Before Hitler Crosses the Atlantic*, by H. C. Wolfe. *Harpers*, February 1939, pp. 253-259. (f) *Greater Ukraine*, by E. Wiskermann. *The Nation*, February 25, 1939, pp. 224-227. (g) *Rumania's Uneasy Seat*, by S. V. Hastings. *Current History*, March 1939, pp. 37-39.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Anton Dvorak (ahn' tone dvor'zhak) Bedrich Smetana (bed'rick smeh'tah-nah), Konstantin von Neurath (koan'stahn-teen fon' noy'raht), Istanbul (ees-tahn-bool'), Wurttemberg (voor'tem-baig), Joachim von Ribbentrop (yoe-ah'keem fon' rib'ben-trope), Okhotsk (oe-kots'k), Kamchatka (kahm-chah't'kah), Fawzia (fah'zia), Farouk (fah-rook'), Shah (shaw'), Iran (ee-rah'n'), Mohammed Riza Pahlevi (moe-hah'med ree'zah pah-lay'vee), Shiites (shee'ites), Sunnites (soon'ites), Montevideo (moan-tay-vee-day'oe), Memel (may'mel), Danzig (dahn'tsik'), Moravia (moe-ray'via), Slovakia (sloe-vah'kia), Carpatho-Ukraine (kar-pay' thoe u-krayn'-u as in use), Ruthenia (roo-thee'nia), Reich (rike—i as in ice), Skoda (skoe'dah).

Analysis Made of Propaganda

(Concluded from page 1)

They distributed pictures showing churches which had been razed and men and women murdered. They did not show atrocities on the other side.

Both sides in this case pretended to be giving a complete picture, but each presented facts tending to bolster its case. Anyone depending on either source for information obtained a one-sided picture and lacked information necessary in order that he might reach a balanced judgment. Many people made up their minds without realizing that other persons or organizations were influencing them.

Against Lewis

2. Some time ago there was a reception at the Russian Embassy in Washington. It was attended by a number of government officials and by prominent people of all shades of political opinion. Among those who attended were people who were friendly to the communist government of Russia and others who hated it. Attendance at the reception indicated nothing whatever about one's attitude toward communism. One of the guests at the reception was John L. Lewis, head of the CIO. Certain newspapers which opposed Lewis and who wanted to make the people of the nation think that he was a communist and in close association with the Russian government took his picture as he was leaving the embassy and published it widely. The picture was not accompanied by any explanation of the circumstances under which Lewis was present at the embassy. Those who saw the picture were led to believe that Lewis was at the embassy in friendly conference with communists. Those who were influenced by the picture were victims of propaganda.

3. Communists, radicals, and other people who wish to prejudice the public against businessmen, picture all those who are conservative, or who favor policies such as businessmen support, as wealthy, selfish, overfed persons such as the ones shown in the cartoon in this paper taken from the *New Masses*. Frequently liberals and radicals speak of "big business" as if it were an evil influence intent upon oppressing the rest of the population. Sometimes business is shown in cartoons as a big fat man with a hard face and with dollar marks all over him. The purpose of propaganda of this kind is to give people the feeling that any measure supported by prominent businessmen is necessarily bad for the country and is dictated by hard



REDFIELD IN THE NEW MASSES

"THE VOICE OF BUSINESS" ONE SHOULD NOT BE INFLUENCED IN HIS DECISIONS ON PUBLIC PROBLEMS BY CARTOONS SUCH AS THESE



TALBURY IN WASHINGTON NEWS

and selfish interests. If a direct argument were made that certain measures favored by business leaders were harmful in effect, this would not be propaganda. But when people are led to feel hostile to businessmen through the use of labels or pictures or unproved assumptions, they are victims of propaganda.

Liberals and Radicals

4. Whereas liberals and radicals frequently try to prejudice the minds of people against business leaders, conservatives and others who favor employers often resort to propaganda to influence people against labor leaders. A very large and powerful daily newspaper in the Middle West frequently carries cartoons showing the CIO as a bandit wearing a mask. This newspaper does not undertake by a calm and thoughtful argument and by massing evidence to prove that the CIO is a criminal organization. It gives that impression to its readers by its cartoons and headlines. It gives a similar impression by picking out isolated cases of unlawful acts by CIO unions and playing them up. In this way it undertakes to influence the people by propaganda. Many other newspapers use similar tactics in the effort to discredit labor groups.

5. The great majority of the American people fear or despise communists and "Reds." Propagandists of all kinds know this. Frequently, therefore, when they wish to discredit someone they will term him a "Red" or speak of him as being

communistic, without proving or undertaking to prove that anything which he supports really is communistic. Several years ago a book was published for the purpose of discrediting a large number of Americans by insinuating without any attempt at proof that they were "Red" or communistic. The author of the book discussed the activities of communists and the danger they presented to America, and then printed a long list of Americans whom she classified as being "Reds." Without proof she undertook to give her readers the impression that all the persons named were communists. She did this by associating their names with the hated term "Reds." The list included many such persons as Glenn Frank, prominent Republican leader, who never did have the slightest communistic leanings, but whom the author wished to discredit because he was not an extreme conservative.

6. Headlines are used effectively sometimes as propaganda. Those who wish to discredit businessmen opposed to the administration without taking the trouble to present straightforward arguments against them and their policies, sometimes refer to them in their headlines as "economic royalists." This tends to make the reader feel that they are opposed to democracy.

The Other Side

On the other side, there are many instances of propaganda. When last year the Roosevelt administration proposed a bill to reorganize the executive departments of the government, it was referred to in many papers as the "dictator bill." As a matter of fact, there were many good arguments which might have been made either for or against the measure. Most of its features had been favored by previous presidents, both Democratic and Republican. But the use of the term "dictator bill" made it unpopular with people who did not go into the arguments one way or the other but merely assumed that it would have made the President a dictator.

7. Many words which have come into use in Europe are brought over here and applied to American activities in such a way as to deceive the public. Hitler and Stalin have at different times had their opponents killed, and this was called a "purge." When President Roosevelt went before the voters of America and asked them to vote against Democrats who were opposing New Deal policies, he may or may not have acted wisely. But many persons were deceived when headlines spoke of his acts as a "purge." On the other hand, voters are similarly deceived when opponents of New Deal measures are called "fascists." This term, by the way, is sometimes applied to friends of the New Deal as well as to the opponents.

8. When cartoonists day after day pictured President Hoover as a fat, muddle-headed boy, they gave many people the impression that he was weak and futile.

They did this without presenting any arguments to that effect. Similarly, when advisers of President Roosevelt are pictured as harebrained "brain trusters," wearing the academic cap, many people are given the impression, without considering any arguments, that the advisers are impractical and foolish.

9. There is much subtle propaganda in the motion pictures. A strike scene may be so manipulated as to cause an audience to feel deeply against organized labor.

10. Radio commentators by choosing certain facts to broadcast and by eliminating other facts may give the public a totally false impression of an event.

What to Do?

We have given only a few illustrations of propaganda. They could be multiplied a thousand times, for it is almost impossible to pick up a newspaper, to listen to a public address, to see a movie, or to hear a news broadcast on the radio without being influenced in some way by persons who are anxious to implant opinions in our minds, not by argument, but by giving us untruths or half truths, or by making insinuations unverified by fact or evidence.

What are we to do about it? How can we protect ourselves from propaganda?

In the first place, we should avoid the error of becoming merely cynical. We should not take the position that we cannot "believe what we read or hear." To do that is to confess our inability ever to arrive at the truth. On the other hand, we do not want to make the mistake of accepting everything we are told without being critical of its accuracy.

The best way to avoid either extreme is to get into the habit of examining a number of sources of fact and opinion before making up our minds. Be on guard against speeches or editorials or news stories which on the face of them are one-sided. If the papers you are reading give only one side of a disputed question, look for a newspaper or magazine which gives the other side. Get into the habit of looking for evidence and of making up your mind in the light of evidence.

Of course you will not know what questions really are controversial unless you read rather widely. That is why it is important that you should include in your reading newspapers or magazines which represent different points of view.

Remember that there can be propaganda in favor of good causes as well as bad ones. Nevertheless, you should be on guard against making up your mind on the basis of facts which have come to you from only one source and not from the other.

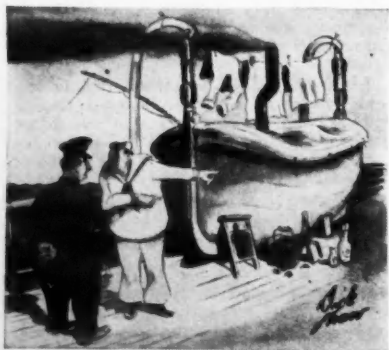
There is no easy way to be independent of propagandists. The more widely you read, however, the more you get into the habit of suspending judgment until you have heard evidence from all sides, and the more likely you are to be free and independent in your thinking.

Smiles

Panting and perspiring, two Irishmen on a tandem bicycle at last got to the top of the steep hill.

"That was a stiff climb, Pat," said the first. "Sure and it was that," said Pat. "And if I hadn't kept the brake on we would have gone backward." —GRIT

"Bow to the inevitable and pay your taxes with a smile," says a philosophical columnist. We'd like to do that, but they insist on cash. —CLIPPED



"LET'S NOT ACCUSE PEOPLE UNTIL WE'RE SURE, PEDERSON!"

SHAW IN COLLIER'S

A railroad agent in the Middle West had been "bawled out" for doing things without orders from headquarters. One day his boss received the following startling telegram: "Tiger on platform eating conductor. Wire instructions." —CLIPPED

"What's the meaning of this, Miss Thornett—I am in receipt, receipt, receipt of your letter?"

"Oh, I always give alternative spellings for words I'm not sure of, sir." —HUMORIST

"Have you any good beef?" "Good beef? I've got some beef that will make better chicken salad than any tuna fish you can buy." —PITTSBURGH PRESS

Patient (after dentist put in fillings): "Aren't you going to grind them?" Dentist: "No, you'll grind them yourself when you get my bill." —FROTH

He who laughs last sits behind a tall fat man at the movies.—TROTT VECK MESSAGE

Reporter: "I'd like some advice, sir, on how to run a newspaper." Editor: "You've come to the wrong person, son. Ask one of the subscribers." —ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Visitor: "My, what a large skating rink!" Instructor: "Yes, we have a seating capacity of 5,000." —CLIPPED